/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Tafiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dissolution. [166] Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1948 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treatments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently [464] the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Itanhaém region.

621 182 [563] Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On 621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the [162] post, with some mestizos among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since [164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments. [177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no [178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too, [197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. -- [114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco [162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949). [178] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute [114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso, [114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I [162] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová [166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the [433] former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/18 cont./

000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaranĺ culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaranĺ na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaranĺ culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked [197] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive [179] conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupation of the ancient Guaranĺ territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into [166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the [179] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaranĺ hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

179 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaranĺ of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brasilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[134]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[134] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata* or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.